

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-07 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13 /080 W  
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R 300945Z JUL 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 427  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 10993

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, SOPN, UR, HU, SP  
SUBJECT: MOSCOW REPLAYS CRITICISM OF EUROCOMMUNISM

REF: BUDAPEST 2497

1. PRAVDA OF JULY 28 CARRIES AN ARTICLE CRITICAL OF  
SANTIAGO CARRILLO AND EUROCOMMUNISM BY IA. BERETS (PHON),  
CHIEF OF THE HUNGARIAN PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT.  
THE BASIC ARGUMENT OF THE ARTICLE, WHICH APPEARS TO BE  
PARTIALLY TEXT AND PARTIALLY SUMMARY AND WHICH WAS  
PUBLISHED ORIGINALLY IN NEPSZABADSAG, IS THAT DISCUSSION  
WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS ACCEPTABLE BUT CRITICISM  
OF THE USSR AND OF THE CPSU IS INADMISSABLE. SUCH CRITICISM  
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MERELY PLAYS INTO THE HANDS OF IMPERIALISM AND UNDER-  
MINES THE FAITH IN SOCIALISM OF THE WORKERS AND THE EX-  
PLOITED. THE ARTICLE LAUDS "THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE USSR  
TO THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF HUMANITY," AND SNEERS AT THOSE  
(NOT NAMED) WHO THINK THEY CAN ENHANCE THEIR ELECTORAL  
STANDING BY TAKING ANTI-SOVIET POSITIONS. THIS CLEAR REF-  
ERENCE TO CARRILLO AND OTHER PLACES IN THE ARTICLE WHERE

HE IS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED ARE MUCH LESS SCATHING THAN PREVIOUS REFERENCES TO HIM IN NEW TIMES. IN GENERAL THE IMPRESSION IS LEFT THAT HIS NOTORIETY IS LARGELY A PRODUCT OF WESTERN MEDIA WHICH WISH TO UNDERMINE THE UNITY OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. EUROCOMMUNISM IS LIKEWISE TREATED IN Milder TERMS THAN HERETOFORE; IT TOO APPEARS MORE AS A CREATURE OF WESTERN PROPAGANDA INTENDED TO SPLIT THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

3. COMMENT: THE TONE OF THE PRAVDA PIECE IS DECIDEDLY MORE ELEVATED AND MODERATE THAN WERE THE NEW TIMES ATTACKS. AS EMBASSY BUDAPEST POINTS OUT (REFTEL) THE OVERALL EFFECT IS THAT OF POURING OIL ON TROUBLED WATERS. THAT PRAVDA CHOSE TO REPLAY THIS PIECE SUGGESTS THAT THE HSWP MAY NOT HAVE BEEN ACTING ON ITS OWN OR IF IT WAS, THAT THE SOVIETS WISHED TO USE THE ARTICLE TO CONVEY A SIMILAR MESSAGE BY BORROWING FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT PRAVDA CONVEYED A MODERATE TONE IN ITS SUMMARY ARTICLE, SINCE THERE WAS ENOUGH IN THE ORIGINAL THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT HAVE SELECTED TO REINFORCE THEIR OWN POSITION WITHOUT MODERATING THE RHETORIC.

4. IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON JULY 28 YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR SMOLE INTERPRETED THE ARTICLE AS A REFLECTION OF A BREZHNEV "MODERATE" POLICY TAKING HOLD ON THE EUROCOMMUNISM ISSUE AS OPPOSED TO A HARDER  
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SUSLOV LINE WHICH HAS BEEN PREVALENT UP TO NOW. SMOLE BELIEVES THAT SINCE THIS IS THE FIRST SOVIET REPRINT FROM THE EAST EUROPEAN PRESS ON THE CARRILLO DISPUTE THAT IT IS A SIGNAL THAT THE SOVIETS WISH TO COOL THINGS.

5. WE TEND TO AGREE WITH SMOLE'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE SOVIETS WISH TO MODERATE THE TONE OF THE DISPUTE, BUT WE HAVE NO SOLID EVIDENCE THAT BREZHNEV AND SUSLOV HAVE IN FACT BEEN AT ODDS ON THE EUROCOMMUNISM ISSUE. WE ALSO THINK IT SIGNIFICANT THAT PRAVDA WAS CHOSEN AS THE VEHICLE FOR THE REPLAY OF THE HUNGARIAN PIECE SINCE THUS FAR THE DEBATE HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT IN NEW TIMES, TASS AND THE NON-DAILY PERIODICALS. THUS WE THINK THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS AS AN ADDITIONAL AUDIENCE AT THIS POINT, VIZ., THE SOVIET PARTY FAITHFUL WHO ORDINARILY DO NOT READ NEW TIMES AND PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. IT MAY BE AN INDICATION THAT THE RANK AND FILE HAS NOW HEARD ENOUGH ABOUT THE DISPUTE THAT THERE IS A NEED TO CONVEY THE ESSENTIALS OF THE DISPUTE BUT IN A MANNER WHICH WILL CALM, RATHER THAN EXCITE, FURTHER DEBATE. IN ANY CASE WHAT WAS PUBLISHED IN

PRAVDA AGAIN INDICATES THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT BASICALLY  
COMPROMISED ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR DISPUTE WITH  
CARRILLO AND THE EUROCOMMUNISTS.  
TOON

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## Message Attributes

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